Carangas –
Chipaya

/394 cont./

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The few tales which I was able to note down were practically all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

Carangas-
Čipaya

Plate III

142
291
302

115

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent informant.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya women.

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
[128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
● 115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out. and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[191] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter. a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/147 cont./

this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[199] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
199 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been
[149] present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/149 cont./

115 [147] large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter [91] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical [144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology [848] /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un- [91] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving [91] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/179 cont./

*539 The whole of this text, the phonetics as well as the
●115 vocabulary and syntax, is less correct than the accounts of old
191 Manuel Inta, who belongs to the generation prior (he is nearly 90 years old) to that of the new narrator (Carlos Kispe), who is about 50 years old.

*539 1. puKáta is an Aymara word, a language which the in-
191 formant knows rather well; húxk'-čáč' for huxk'-ačáčay,
192 "we can depart." The narrator sometimes says čurk, and sometimes čòrk or čark, literally, "large," "strong"; this form indicates the superlative here. 3. The Uru have no special word for the mast; they simply call it "the wood" of the sail. 8. The correct form would be čaxka-čúčay. 9. The narrator moreover has a tendency to transform the final -čay into -ča (6) or to elide it into ač' (1); he always omits it with substantives and adjectives. 12. The informant says Kās-si instead of the correct form k^{w}á-si, "water." He often confuses ę and i, sometimes saying čúke and sometimes čúki.

VI. The Fishing Enclosure
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 163 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 1. This is a fishing enclosure. 2. This enclosure is made
200 to catch fish. 3. We are accustomed to closing the entrance (of the enclosure) with a net. 4. We lift the net quickly with this stick. 5. On this river there is another net. 6. There are enclosures for each of us, very far away from each other. 7. Thus each of us can fish.

3:Vellard--22a D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

291

Plate VI

1. Andrés Vila and Luis Vila.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

142
362

3. Old Uru woman.

115
K92
291

4. Manuel Inta. 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara. 40 to 50 years old.

/186/

Remarks

*539 124 This little, very lifelike scene shows the usual difficulties in any ethnological investigation; the informants tire quickly, and the investigator is harassed by requests. Our two informants however were excellent.

*539 192 193 1. The suffix náka indicates the plural; takú means "word," "speech," "language." 2. s- kŏ- čay is used for kŏ- čay, the s is euphonic; compare s- mír- háčay in 9. 4. A typical example of an adjective assuming a verbal form: wáka means "all"; by adding kíčay, the past suffix, the word "all she has been," is formed. 5. awáritiš is the Spanish word, aguardiente, eau-de-vie /brandy/. 7. líka-čay, "I shall drink," formula of politeness before drinking. 8. húwa means "quick," "lively," "agile," and in a figurative sense, "intelligent," "quick-witted"; here it is a wish used as a formula of thanking; háp'- pay, "father," a frequently used honorific used for "monsieur." 9. kę- skéču; the repetition of the first syllable of the word has the value of a superlative: "very, very close"; litrát is the Spanish word retrato, portrait.

[115] 11. The informant, about 60 years old, hopes very much to die after his wife, who is, however, less than 40 years old. I am not absolutely sure of the transcription of tíkš' na- tačíkni; it is a future form of dead, literally, "who is stretched out."

[191] In this whole dialogue one will notice the rather different phonetics of the two informants. Thus čis- čay, "to talk," sometimes becomes či- čay; Carlos Kispe often leaves off endings in čay- ; he even often leaves off final syllables or letters.

/187/

*539
115

XI. Farewells
(Dialogue dictated by Carlos Kispe)

(See p. 169 /in the foreign text/)

Translation

1. Dost thou not find it difficult to go away? 2. With much reluctance I shall go to my house. 3. Dost thou want to stay or dost thou want to leave? 4. I wish to go away. 5. Stay longer; it is better to stay now. 6. While thou travelest toward thy house, thou mightst meet a storm. 7. Eat thy meal; afterward thou shalt leave. Thy wife will be able to see thee from afar.

Remarks

We heard this short dialogue at Tihuanaco between our two informants, Carlos Kispe, who was staying with us, and old Manuel Inta, in a hurry to return home. Carlos Kispe repeated [191] it to us. The usual mistakes of this informant are to be again found here: the use of wáli, an Aymara word meaning "much"; transformation of the ending čay into ča; frequent elisions.

*539
193 1. kún, an interrogative particle which is placed before the verb; compare kúmi- pèk' (5). Note the future forms -kičay, used in this whole dialogue, and tú lún táni, literally, "to take trouble." 2. kinák', a particle which is placed after the object, indicating direction with motion. 3. The Uru have no conditional or dubitative form; they present the two proposals without any conjunction. 4. káli, "from here"; a particle which is placed after the verb, indicating departure from the place where one is. 6. káma, a particle placed after the verb; it is common to Keŝwa and to Aymara, meaning "whilst." 7. -stáni, a particle placed after the verb, meaning "after." /188/ 8. t' kúwa, a contraction; the correct form

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

346
S:Film T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SFPA Urn SF24
Urn 1-24

Fig. 2: The village church.

Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P 306-A]